

HART-BREGLIO
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Study #4027--page 1

Interviews: 1001 respondents
Dates: April 11-14, 1992

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL II

Study #4027
NBC News/WSJ
April 1992

AR	TYPE	SA	FORM	DAT
[6] [7]]	[8]	[9] [10] [11]]	[12]	April
				[13] [14]]

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Breglio for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Breglio for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered.....	10 0	CONTINUE	[15]
No, not registered.....	-	TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT	
Not sure.....	-		

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

Not sure.....	4	3	4	3	4	5	4	6	5	3	5	4	4	6
						<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>
						0	0	0	42	47	44	49	41	42
						22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42
						59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34
						14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19
						5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5

3. Would you say that you and your family are better off or worse off than you were four years ago?

Better off.....	35	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	[17]
		36	39	42	40	
Worse off.....	43	41	40	39	37	
About the same (VOL).....	20	22	20	17	22	
Not sure.....	2	1	1	2	1	

4. I'm going to read you the names of several people who are active in politics. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH NAME AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
George Bush							[18]
April 1992.....	15	29	17	19	19	1	
February 1992.....	15	30	16	18	20	1	
January 1992.....	16	33	17	18	15	1	
December 1991.....	19	35	13	19	13	1	
October 1991.....	27	35	15	12	10	1	
June 1991.....	38	33	10	11	7	-	
May 1991.....	42	35	10	8	4	1	
March 1991.....	50	30	9	6	4	1	
October 1990.....	20	36	17	15	11	1	
July 1990.....	26	42	16	10	5	1	
May 1990.....	28	40	15	11	5	1	
March 1990.....	32	37	15	10	5	1	
December 1989.....	28	33	21	11	5	2	
November 1989.....	24	38	17	11	8	2	
Jerry Brown							[19]
April 1992.....	5	17	22	24	24	8	
January 1992.....	3	15	21	18	15	28	
December 1991.....	3	15	22	16	12	32	
October 1991.....	3	14	21	15	13	34	
Ronald Reagan							[20]
April 1992.....	14	23	16	17	29	1	
May 1991 *.....	16	22	19	17	23	3	
October 1990.....	16	25	16	17	23	3	
March 1990.....	21	26	16	14	22	1	
November 1989.....	19	28	17	13	21	2	
Hillary Clinton							[21]
April 1992.....	8	16	24	17	12	23	
February 1992 *.....	7	15	19	9	9	41	

Tom Foley	3	11	21	12	8	45	[22]
April 1992.....	3	11	21	12	8	45	[22]
October 1990.....	2	14	18	9	4	53	
November 1989.....	3	12	16	4	2	63	
							[23]
H. Ross Perot	13	18	21	7	6	35	[24]
April 1992.....	13	18	21	7	6	35	[24]
Richard Nixon	7	20	18	20	31	4	
April 1992.....	7	20	18	20	31	4	
May 1991 *.....	7	18	23	21	27	4	
Q.4. (cont'd)							
	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
George Mitchell							[25]
April 1992.....	2	8	21	9	8	52	
October 1990.....	3	13	22	7	5	50	
November 1989.....	3	11	18	6	4	58	
							[26]
Bill Clinton							
April 1992.....	8	24	20	25	18	5	
February 1992.....	7	22	22	19	13	17	
January 1992.....	5	17	17	5	3	53	
December 1991.....	3	12	13	4	2	66	
October 1991.....	3	7	14	5	2	69	
							[27]
Dan Quayle							
April 1992.....	6	20	28	22	21	3	
February 1992.....	7	22	26	20	22	3	
January 1992.....	6	25	27	20	18	4	
December 1991.....	7	25	28	20	18	2	
October 1991.....	10	25	28	15	18	4	
June 1991.....	9	24	30	18	15	3	
May 1991.....	9	25	27	17	18	4	
March 1991.....	7	26	29	15	18	5	
October 1990.....	5	22	28	19	19	7	
July 1990.....	6	22	33	16	14	9	
May 1990.....	7	22	29	18	19	5	
March 1990.....	7	21	28	17	19	8	
November 1989.....	7	22	26	17	21	7	

*Asked of one-half the respondents

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

	NBC														
	2/92	1/92	12/9	11/9	10/91	9/91	8/9	7/9	6/9	5/9	3/9	2/9	1/91	[28]	
Approve.....	43	45	53	52	51	63	64	70	67	76	74	81	85	77	
Disapprove....	52	48	40	41	39	30	27	21	25	21	19	13	11	15	
Not sure.....	5	7	7	7	10	7	9	9	8	3	7	6	4	8	
	12/9	10/30	10/19	9/9	7/9	5/9	4/9	3/9	1/9	11/8					
	0	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	9					
	31/90	21/90													
	57	56	59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67					
	36	32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	19					
	7	12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11					

5b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	[29] 1
Approve.... 2 3	23	23	23	31	41	38	47	44	44	37	
Disapprov e..... 2	72	70	71	61	51	52	48	44	45	54	
Not sure.. 5	5	7	6	8	8	10	5	12	11	9	
	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>		
	35	52	48	51	59	53	54	52	61		
	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33	24		
	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15		

5c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	[30] 1
Approve..... 59	60	63	68	70	71	74	74	76	83	56	
Disapprove. 37	34	30	26	23	23	21	21	18	11	37	
Not sure.... 4	6	7	6	7	6	5	5	6	6	7	
	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>		
	63	75	67	67	70	67	69	59	58		
	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27	26		
	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16		

6a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/15/9</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
Approve.....	1 5	26	34 1	28	22	[31]
Disapprove.....	7 8	62	52	63	69	
Not sure.....	7	12	14	9	9	

6b. And how would you rate the congressman or woman from your district--do you approve or disapprove of the job your representative is doing?

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	
Approve.....	5 5	61	59	57	68	[32]
Disapprove.....	3 1	25	29	30	16	
Not sure.....	1 4	14	12	13	16	

6c. Looking ahead to this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

		<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	
Reelect representative.....	33	37	42	35	40	39	41	[33]
Give new person a chance.....	57	52	48	52	48	48	36	
Not sure.....	10	11	10	13	12	13	23	

7. In this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

		2/92	1/92	12/91	10/9	7/9	10/9	9/9	7/90	5/90	3/90	1/90	11/8	9/89	
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	32	30	29	27	31	1	1	0	0	33	34	25	26	27	29 [34]
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	36	38	38	33	34	33	40	37	36	33	34	31	32	32	
Depends (VOL).....	14	14	18	26	20	24	12	14	17	22	29	33	28	24	
Neither (VOL).....	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	
Not sure.....	16	17	14	13	14	13	14	16	12	10	10	8	12	14	

- 8a. And generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	CONTINUE	[35]
	6		
Not strong Democrat.....	1		
	2		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	1		
	3		
Strictly Independent.....	1		
	4		
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	SKIP TO Q.9.	
	4		
Not strong Republican.....	1		
	2		
Strong Republican.....	1		
	4		
Other.....	3		
Refused.....	-		
Don't know/nothing.....	2		

(ASK OF ALL DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS IN Q.8a.)

- 8b. Suppose the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you vote for? **(READ LIST. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

Jerry Brown.....	25	[36]
Bill Clinton.....	50	
Paul Tsongas (VOL)....	4	
Someone else (VOL)....	4	
Neither (VOL).....	10	
Not sure.....	7	

(ASK OF ALL DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS IN Q.8a.)

- 8c. How satisfied are you with the present field of announced Democratic candidates for president--very satisfied, fairly satisfied, just somewhat satisfied, or not that satisfied?

		2/92	
Very satisfied.....	6	5	[37]
Fairly satisfied.....	1	17	

Just somewhat satisfied.....	8	
	2	40
	9	
Not that satisfied.....	4	33
	6	
Not sure.....	1	5

(ASK OF ALL DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS IN Q.8a.)

8d. Do you think Jerry Brown should stay in the race for the Democratic nomination for president or do you think he should drop out?

Should stay in.....	4	[38]
	9	
Should drop out.....	4	
	4	
Not sure.....	7	

(ASK OF ALL DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS IN Q.8a.)

8e. Do you think the Democrats should nominate Bill Clinton or do you think they should look for someone else?

Nominate Clinton.....	3	[39]
	7	
Look for someone else.....	5	
	4	
Not sure.....	9	

(ASK OF ALL DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS IN Q.8a.)

8f. And who do you think would be the strongest Democratic candidate against George Bush in November--Lloyd Bentsen, Bill Clinton, Mario Cuomo, or Paul Tsongas?

Lloyd Bentsen.....	8	[40]
Bill Clinton.....	3	
	7	
Mario Cuomo.....	2	
	8	
Paul Tsongas.....	1	
	4	
Someone else (VOL).....	2	
All equally (VOL).....	-	
None of these (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	7	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

9. Looking ahead to the next general election for president, George Bush will be running for reelection as the Republican candidate for president. Will you definitely vote for Bush in that election, probably vote for Bush, probably vote for the Democratic candidate, or definitely vote for the Democratic candidate?

		<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	[41]
Definitely vote for Bush.....	1	17	19	20	20	
	9					
Probably vote for Bush.....	2	24	27	28	34	
	4					
Probably vote for the Democratic candidate.....	1	19	18	18	15	
	6					
Definitely vote for the Democratic candidate.....	2	23	20	18	15	
	6					
Depends (VOL).....	7	9	9	9	11	
Not sure.....	8	8	7	7	5	

Now, let me ask you about some specific candidates.

10a. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and H. Ross Perot, the Independent, for whom would you vote--Bush, Clinton, or Perot?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

George Bush.....	3	[42]
	5	
Lean Bush.....	3	
Bill Clinton.....	2	
	7	

Lean Clinton.....	3
H. Ross Perot.....	2
	3
Lean Perot.....	3
None (VOL).....	2
Not sure.....	4

- 10b. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, Jerry Brown, the Democrat, and H. Ross Perot, an Independent, for whom would you vote--Bush, Brown, or Perot?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

George Bush.....	3	[43]
	8	
Lean Bush.....	3	
Jerry Brown.....	1	
	7	
Lean Brown.....	3	
H. Ross Perot.....	2	
	8	
Lean Perot.....	3	
None (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	5	

11. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Clinton?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

(IF "BUSH" OR "CLINTON," ASK:) Would you say you support (**George Bush/Bill Clinton**) very strongly or not so strongly?

		<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>10/91</u>	
George Bush/strongly.....	30	33	{48	{55	[44]
George Bush/not so strongly..	18	15			
Lean Bush.....	2	3	4	3	
Bill Clinton/strongly.....	19	17	{32	{20	
Bill Clinton/not so strongly....	20	19			
Lean Clinton.....	3	3	3	2	
Neither (VOL).....	5	4	3	2	
Not sure.....	3	6	10	18	

(FORM A ONLY)

12. What are your thoughts about having Ross Perot as president? What do you think Ross Perot would be like as president?

(PROBE:) Anything else?

Net Favorable Impressions	41%	Net Unfavorable Impressions	34%	
Run a more efficient government, will run government like a business, things will get done	8	Inexperienced in politics, no track record	6	
Agree with his stand on economic issues, he will be beneficial to our economy	6	Not a good idea; will create problems, a catastrophe	5	
Like his ideas, like his stand on issues	6	Scared of him, too confrontational, dictatorial	5	[45-52]
It is time for a change, for a new, different approach	5	Not well known, needs more exposure	5	
Strong, outspoken, good leadership qualities	5	Need to know more about his stand on issues, not addressing the	4	

issues	Don't know; no response	39
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(FORM A)

13. I'd like to read you a few qualities that a president might have. For each one, please tell me whether you think this describes George Bush very well, describes him fairly well, does not describe him well, or does not describe him at all.

(READ ITEM AND ASK:) Do you think this describes George Bush very well, describes him fairly well, does not describe him well, or does not describe him at all? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE.)**

	Describes Very <u>Well</u>	Describes Fairly <u>Well</u>	Does Not Describe <u>Well</u>	Does Not Describe <u>At All</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Effective, knows how to get things done.....	14	52	20	13	1	[53]
Honest, a person you can trust.....	25	43	15	15	2	[54]
Has good ideas for the future.....	10	36	28	23	3	[55]
A strong leader, has the courage of his convictions.....	31	37	16	15	1	[56]
Cares about and fights for the average person.....	9	28	26	36	1	[57]

(FORM A)

14. I'd like to read you a few qualities that a president might have. For each one, please tell me whether you think this describes Bill Clinton very well, describes him fairly well, does not describe him well, or does not describe him at all.

(READ ITEM AND ASK:) Do you think this describes Bill Clinton very well, describes him fairly well, does not describe him well, or does not describe him at all? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE.)**

	Describes Very <u>Well</u>	Describes Fairly <u>Well</u>	Does Not Describe <u>Well</u>	Does Not Describe <u>At All</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Effective, knows how to get things done.....	12	42	18	12	16	[58]
Honest, a person you can trust...	5	28	29	27	11	[59]
Has good ideas for the future.....	17	42	20	10	11	[60]
A strong leader, has the courage of his convictions.....	15	41	17	15	12	[61]
Cares about and fights for the average person.....	16	44	15	11	14	[62]

(FORM B)

15. Let me read you a list of criticisms people have made about Bill Clinton. Please tell me which one of these criticisms would give you the biggest doubts and concerns about supporting Bill Clinton for president. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

A) There is the appearance of a conflict of interest with his wife's law firm..... 1 [63]
8

B) He may have had an extramarital affair.....	5
C) He avoided the draft during the Vietnam War.....	1
D) He has played golf at a restricted, all-white country club.....	8
E) He smoked marijuana when he was in graduate school.....	1
All equally (VOL).....	5
None of these (VOL).....	4
Not sure.....	9
	2
	8
	3

(BOTH FORMS)

16a. In terms of personality and style, character and values, and his stand on the issues, how close does H. Ross Perot come to what you are looking for in a president for the next four years-- extremely close, very close, just somewhat close, or not very close?

Extremely close.....	7	[64]
Very close.....	1	
	4	
Just somewhat close.....	2	
	8	
Not that close.....	2	
	4	
Not sure.....	2	
	7	

16b. How much would you say you know about Ross Perot and what he stands for--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, very little, or nothing at all?

A great deal.....	3	[65]
Quite a bit.....	1	
	2	
Just some.....	3	
	1	
Very little.....	3	
	0	
Nothing at all.....	2	
	1	
Not sure.....	3	

16c. In terms of his approach to the issues, do you think Ross Perot tends to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Liberal.....	1	[66]
	3	
Moderate.....	2	
	6	
Conservative.....	2	
	2	
Not sure.....	3	
	9	

(FORM B)

17a. Let me read you a number of reasons people have given for supporting Ross Perot for president. Please tell me which one of these reasons would make you most likely to consider supporting Ross Perot for president. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

A) He has the best understanding of economic issues.....	1	[67]
	4	
B) He is an outsider who is not a part of the present political system..	2	
	1	
C) He is a successful businessman.....	8	
D) He is so rich that special interest groups will not be able to influence him.....	8	
E) He is honest and says what he believes.....	2	

All equally (VOL).....	8
None of these (VOL).....	9
Not sure.....	5

(FORM B)

17b. Let me read you a list of criticisms people have made about Ross Perot. Please tell me which one of these criticisms would give you the biggest doubts and concerns about supporting Ross Perot for president. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

A) His policies will favor the wealthy and big business.....	1	[68]
B) He has little experience on non-economic issues.....	2	
C) He has never held elective office and is untested.....	2	
D) He will have no political party support in Congress to enact his programs.....	5	
All equally (VOL).....	3	
None of these (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	6	

(BOTH FORMS)

- 17c. Ross Perot has said that he will spend 100 million dollars of his own money to run for president. Do you think this is a good thing because he will not have to raise funds from special interest groups, or do you think it is a bad thing because he is trying to buy the presidency?

Good thing.....	5	[69]
	1	
Bad thing.....	3	
	3	
Some of both (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

- 17d. Regardless of how you plan to vote, do you think Ross Perot can win the general election for president, or do you think he is just a protest candidate?

Can win the general election.....	2	[70]
	4	
Just a protest candidate.....	6	
	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	3	

(FORM A)

18. Now, let me read you a list of some specific issues. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, neither, or are both about the same? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	<u>Democrati c Party</u>	<u>Republica n Party</u>	<u>Neithe r</u>	<u>Bot h</u>	<u>Not Sur e</u>	
Dealing with the economy						[71]
April 1992.....	29	24	17	27	3	
February 1992.....	28	22	16	31	3	
January 1992.....	28	23	12	33	4	
October 1991.....	27	28	14	26	5	
October 1990.....	31	30	13	21	5	
November 1989.....	26	40	10	18	6	
Dealing with the problem of health care						[72]
April 1992.....	48	12	18	17	5	
October 1991 *.....	46	12	16	18	8	
Dealing with the issue of abortion						[73]
April 1992.....	34	19	17	19	11	
February 1992.....	31	20	17	20	12	
October 1991.....	36	22	15	14	13	
October 1990.....	32	19	16	16	17	
November 1989.....	29	21	16	16	18	
Reducing the federal deficit						[74]
April 1992.....	20	19	37	18	6	
October 1991 *.....	24	29	24	16	7	
October 1990.....	25	27	23	19	6	
November 1989.....	21	28	26	17	8	
Dealing with taxes						[75]
April 1992.....	30	24	23	18	5	
February 1992.....	35	26	17	17	5	
October 1991.....	26	31	18	18	7	
October 1990.....	38	25	14	17	6	
November 1989.....	29	36	12	16	7	

Dealing with foreign policy

[76]

April 1992.....	21	48	9	18	4
February 1992.....	16	48	7	22	7
January 1992.....	13	42	6	31	8

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

(FORM B)

19. Now, let me read you a list of some specific issues. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, who do you think would do a better job as president--Bill Clinton, George Bush, neither, or are both about the same? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	Bill Clinton	George Bush	Neith er	Both	Not Sure	
Dealing with the economy.....	25	29	22	21	3	[77]
Dealing with the problem of health care.....	35	21	21	17	6	[78]
Dealing with the issue of abortion.....	29	25	21	9	16	[79]
Reducing the federal deficit.....	24	21	36	12	7	[80]
Dealing with taxes.....	30	28	24	10	8	[81]
Dealing with foreign policy.....	15	63	9	8	5	[82]

(BOTH FORMS)

- 20a. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The economic and political systems in this country are stacked against people like me"?

	2/92	1/9	12/9	10/9	10/9	10/23- 26/88*	10/14- 16/88*	9/88*	8/8
Agree.....	59	47	43	44	48	42	43	43	51 [83] 1
Disagree.....	37	47	51	49	46	54	48	42	46 39
Not sure.....	4	6	6	7	6	4	9	8	11 10

* The question read, "Do you think the political and economic systems in this country are stacked against people like you, or don't you think so?"

- 20b. Do you think that quite a few of the people running government are a little crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked at all?

	10/91	199	198	198	198	197	197	1968	1964
Quite a few are crooked.....	6	63	0 49	9 40	4 32	0 47	4* 49	2* 34	25 28 [84]
Not very many are crooked.....	4	27	40	45	50	41	38	46	49
Hardly any are crooked.....	2	2	6	6	6	4	4	4	4
Not sure.....	6	7	9	11	14	8	10	16	18

* Center for Political Studies.

- 20c. Let me read you a list of a number of scandals and controversies that have taken place in Washington during the past few years. Please tell me which one bothers you the most. **(READ CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

A) The Iran-Contra Affair.....	1	[85]
	3	
B) Members of Congress bouncing checks at the House bank.....	2	
C) The handling of problems with the savings and loan	2	
	3	

industry.....	0
D) The Pentagon overpaying defense contractors.....	1
	2
E) The Senate confirmation hearings of Clarence Thomas.	1
	1
All equally (VOL).....	1
	1
None of these (VOL).....	-
Not sure.....	1

21. How would you rate the overall performance and accomplishments of this year's Congress--one of the best, above average, average, below average, or one of the worst?

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
One of the best.....	1	1	1	[86]
Above average.....	4	5	7	
Average.....	33	45	39	
Below average.....	36	32	32	
One of the worst.....	24	14	19	
Not sure.....	2	3	2	

22. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency, to prevent either one from going too far?

		<u>1/92</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/86</u>	
Better if controlled by <u>same</u> political party.....	3	28	24	23	24	28	[87]
	2						
Better if controlled by <u>different</u> political parties.....	6	62	67	67	63	64	
	1						
Not sure.....	7	10	9	10	13	8	

23. Let me read you four possible outcomes to this year's congressional elections. Please tell me which one you would most like to see happen. (**READ CHOICES.**)

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
More Democrats and fewer Republicans in Congress.....	1	17	20	[88]
	7			
More Republicans and fewer Democrats in Congress.....	2	20	18	
	0			
The number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress staying about the same, and a lot of incumbents winning.....	1	19	22	
	7			
The number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress staying about the same, but with a lot of incumbents losing.....	3	36	32	
	9			
Not sure.....	7	8	8	

- 24a. In general, do you feel that President Bush is contributing to the problems in Washington or is working to solve these problems?

Contributing to problems.....	4	[89]
	5	
Working to solve problems.....	4	
	6	
Some of both (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	3	

- 24b. And in general, do you feel that Congress is contributing to the problems in Washington or is working to solve these problems?

Contributing to problems.....	7	[90]
	1	
Working to solve problems.....	2	
	0	
Some of both (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

- 24c. And in general, do you feel that **your own representative** is contributing to the problems in Washington or is working to solve these problems?

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	[91]
Contributing to problems.....	3	21	26	
	0			
Working to solve problems.....	5	56	57	
	3			
Some of both (VOL).....	2	6	6	
Neither (VOL).....	2	2	2	
Not sure.....	1	15	9	
	3			

25. Do you think there should or should not be a limit on the number of terms to which a senator or member of Congress can be elected?

		<u>10/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	[85]
Yes, there should be a limit.....	8	75	72	67	
	0				
No, there should not be a limit.....	1	21	24	28	
	8				
Not sure.....	2	4	4	5	

26. Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view? (**READ STATEMENTS. DO NOT ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS.**)

STATEMENT A: President Bush is making a good faith effort to deal with the country's economic and domestic problems, but the Democrats in Congress are playing politics by blocking his proposals and programs.

OR

STATEMENT B: President Bush has not provided leadership on such important issues as the economy and health care, and he is just blaming the Democrats in Congress as an excuse for not doing his job.

		<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	[93]
Statement A.....	3	36	34	
	7			
Statement B.....	5	54	57	
	7			
Both equally (VOL).....	2	6	3	
Neither (VOL).....	2	1	3	
Not sure.....	2	3	3	

27. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Congress as an institution is corrupt.

Agree.....	5	[94]
	0	
Disagree.....	4	
	3	
Some of both (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM A)

28a. If you found out that your representative in Congress bounced five checks at the House bank, do you think this would or would not be a strong reason to vote against him or her?

Would be a strong reason.....	4	[95]
	8	
Would not be a strong reason.....	4	
	7	
Not sure.....	5	

(FORM B)

28b. If you found out that your representative in Congress bounced fifty checks at the House bank, do you think this would or would not be a strong reason to vote against him or her?

Would be a strong reason.....	6	[96]
	6	
Would not be a strong reason.....	2	
	8	
Not sure.....	6	

(BOTH FORMS)

28c. If you found out that your representative in Congress overdraw his or her account, do you think you would vote against this person on this issue alone?

Would vote against on this issue alone	2	[97]
	8	
Would not vote against on this issue alone.....	6	
	6	
Not sure.....	6	

28d. Who do you blame most for the problems with the House bank--the Democrats, the Republicans, or both parties equally?

The Democrats.....	1	[98]
	0	
The Republicans.....	3	
Both equally.....	8	
	2	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	3	

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about the economy.

29. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	2/92	1/92	12/9	10/9	9/91	7/91	6/91	5/91	3/91	1/91	12/9	
Better.....	39	39	33	26	26	32	34	37	37	46	25	21
Worse.....	19	23	29	31	32	24	24	23	22	20	40	45
Stay about the same.....	39	35	34	38	37	39	37	37	38	27	28	30
Not sure.....	3	3	4	5	5	5	3	3	7	7	4	
	10/9	9/90	7/90	5/90	4/90	3/90	1/90	11/89	9/89			
	0	13	16	20	22	24	21	22	21	25		
		52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23		
		30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43		
		5	9	7	5	5	5	6	7	9		

30. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? (**READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.**)

		<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	
Inflation.....	7	5	8	8	10	10	9	9	9	10	[100]
Unemployment.....	47	52	53	48	39	37	35	30	32	31	
Interest rates.....	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	2	3	
The federal budget deficit	22	20	16	19	24	23	27	34	29	32	
Federal taxes.....	4	4	4	4	7	6	7	7	6	6	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	9	9	7	8	8	8	10	11	11	10	
All equally important (VOL).....	7	7	8	9	8	10	6	3	10	6	
None is important (VOL)	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	-	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	2	
		<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>		
		11	13	13	8	9	13	12	12		
		26	16	22	21	22	20	23	23		
		3	2	3	4	5	5	4	4		
		35	43	34	37	35	30	29	32		
		7	10	5	9	9	7	7	8		
		11	9	14	14	14	17	18	15		
		6	6	6	6	4	6	5	4		
		-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-		
		1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2		

31. Do you think the U.S. is or is not currently in an economic recession?

		<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	
Yes, is in a recession.....	8	90	90	88	75	65	[101]
	7						
No, is not in a recession.....	1	8	7	9	18	27	
	0						
Not sure.....	3	2	3	3	7	8	

32. Who do you blame most for the country's economic problems? (**READ LIST. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.**)

		<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	
President Bush.....	29	23	19	20	[102]
			2		
The Federal Reserve.....	4	4	4	4	
Democrats in Congress...	13	15	12	22	
Banks.....	5	6	11	9	

The normal business cycle.....	29	27	30	21
All equally (VOL).....	10	13	13	12
None of these (VOL).....	4	7	6	7
Not sure.....	6	5	5	5

33. During the next year, do you think your family will be financially better off than it is today, worse off, or about the same?

	9/91	7/91	6/91	5/91	3/91	1/90	11/89	9/89	[103]
Better off.....	2	30	32	29	29	36	30	31	
	4								
Worse off.....	1	10	10	11	10	8	9	14	
	6								
About the same.....	5	57	56	59	59	55	59	53	
	8								
Not sure.....	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	2	

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about taxes.

34. Do you think Congress should or should not pass a tax cut as a way to help stimulate the U.S. economy?

	2/92	1/92	12/91	11/9	10/91	[104]
Should pass a tax cut.....	49	52	57	57	55	
				1		
Should not pass a tax cut.....	41	40	34	31	30	
Not sure.....	10	8	9	12	15	

35. Which of the following tax proposals would you favor the most? (READ PROPOSALS. DO NOT ROTATE.)

Plan A, supported by President Bush, includes a reduction in the capital gains tax on the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate.

Plan B, supported by Bill Clinton, includes a reduction in taxes for the middle class and an increase in taxes on the wealthy.

Which tax proposal would you favor the most--Plan A or Plan B?

Plan A.....	25	[105]
Plan B.....	66	
Both equally (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	3	

36. Do you favor or oppose replacing the current graduated income tax in which people who make more money pay at a higher rate, with a flat-tax system that would do away with almost all deductions and tax everyone's income at the same rate?

Favor	49	[106]
Oppose.....	44	
Not sure.....	7	

Getting to the end of our survey, I have just a few other questions.

37. Suppose the U.S. Supreme Court reverses its decision on Roe versus Wade and allows each state to decide individually whether or not to permit a woman to have an abortion. Do you favor or oppose the Supreme Court taking this action?

Favor	38	[107]
Oppose.....	56	
Not sure.....	6	

38. Recently President Bush announced his support for a 24 billion dollar international aid program for the republics of the former Soviet Union, which would include 4 billion dollars provided by the United States. Do you favor or oppose the United States providing this aid?

Favor	43	[108]
Oppose.....	51	
Not sure.....	6	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1988 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, or Michael Dukakis, the Democrat?

Didn't vote.....	1	[109]
	1	
Voted for George Bush.....	5	
	0	
Voted for Michael Dukakis.....	3	
	1	
Other candidate (VOL).....	2	
Too young (VOL).....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	4	

- F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	6	[110]
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	6	
Moderate.....	2	
	9	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	5	
Very conservative.....	8	
No thoughts.....	1	
	4	
Not sure.....	2	

- F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? (**DO NOT READ CHOICES.**)

Grade school.....	2	[111]
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	3	
	0	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	8	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	1	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	2	
	1	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	7	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

- F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	8	[112]
25-29.....	1	

30-34.....	2
	1
35-39.....	1
	1
40-44.....	1
	1
45-49.....	9
50-54.....	7
55-59.....	7
60-64.....	7
65 and over.....	1
	6
Not sure/refused.....	1

F5. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

	2	[113]
Professional/manager.....	1	
White collar worker.....	2	
	7	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	0	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	4	
Homemaker.....	7	
Retired.....	1	
	8	
Unemployed.....	2	
Never worked/not sure.....	-	

F6. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	1	[114]
	3	
Labor union household.....	9	
Non-union household.....	7	
	8	
Not sure.....	-	

F7. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	[115]
	8	
Catholic.....	3	
	2	
Jewish.....	2	
Other.....	4	
None.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F8. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	7	[116]
	9	
Black.....	1	
	2	
Hispanic.....	6	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F9. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	6	[117]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	3	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	0	
Not sure/refused.....	4	

F10. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	[118]
	4	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	6	

